FOOTNOTES:

101 671 114 1--This interpretation of a major sociological conceptualization of Moroccan political history, the dissident Berber tribal area, the area of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area under government control where Muslim law was administered, conforms in all respects to the views of the majority of French observers, who label siba as "anarchy" (which, indeed, it literally means: "anarchy, abandon") and who often overlook the fact that the rural areas of the Blad al-Makhzin were also organized on a tribal basis.

101 671 114 113 648 A later definition by Carleton Coon holds that the Blad al-Makhzin, the land over which the power of the Moroccan Sultans extended, was a "land of order", while the Blad as-Siba, whose inhabitants recognized the Sultan's authority spiritually while denying it temporally, was a "land of insolence" (cf. Carleton S; Coon, Caravan: The Story of the Middle East, New York: Henry Holt, 1951, pp. 295-323). This definition, though linguistically inexact, attains a higher degree of sociological sophistication than the preceding one because of and despite the fact that it pushes the analogy a step further.

More recently, Ernest Gellner has defined siba as"institutionalized dissidence" and "marginal or dissident tribalism" (Saints of the Atlas, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969, pp. 2-5), and in a review article of two books by Moroccans who seek to interpret various aspects of their country's history ("The Struggle for Morocco's Past", The Middle East Journal, XV, 1, 1961, pp. 79-90, a review of Abdelaziz Benabdallah, Les Grands Courants de la Civilisation du Maghreb, Rabat 1958, and Mohammed Lahbabi, Le Governement Marocain à l'Aube du XXe Siècle, Rabat 1958), he contrasts the traditional French view of the makhzin-siba dichotomy and a radically reinterpreted view advanced by Lahbabi in which "the same (Gellner's italics) facts, the existence of dissident areas, which were used by the French to illustrate the failure and impotence of Moroccan government are used...to provide the basis for a Consent (hence Anti-Absolutist) Theory of the Moroccan historic constitution." Thus the tribes on the shadowy borderland between the makhzin and siba spheres of influence were presented with a sort of Social Contract situation.

101 196 668 It must be noted that in the Rif the condition known elsewhere as siba was termed Ripublik, and that this not only has nothing to do with 'Abd al-Krim's "Rifian Republican State" (Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya), but also predates it in time. A primary aim of the'Rifian Republic", indeed, was to do away with the Ripublik.

181 104 2--Blanco does not define any of these terms at this point; he only does so later, in his MSS. chapter on Family Organization. All of them are loaded, as he hints, with institutional implications, and we propose to give here only thumbnail definitions for the reader's convenience. Twiza (Rifian dhiwiza) is perhaps best translated as "corvée", a group work project, generally organized for one day only, such as reparation of an irrigation ditch by those who use it, or voluntary assistance given by his neighbors to a man building a house, or, indeed, obligatory work of a communal nature (such as road repair) undertaken on behalf of the tribal notables or the government; this last, however, is usually termed rkwarfi (an Arabization and Rifianiza-

181 tion of French corvee), which underscores its mandatory character.
104 Wuzi'a, in Arabic, refers to distribution on a prorata basis; but its Rifian derivative, r-uzi'ath, refers only to the dividing up of the meat of a ritually edible and ritually slaughtered animal, which has just died, and those who share in the division are expected to pay the owner of the animal back at a later date. Dhwara, a purely Rifian word which Blanco mistakenly gives as twala, thinking it, no doubt, an Arabic derivative, is synonymous with Arabic nuba and its Rifian derivative nubth, means "turn" in its widest sense: use of irrigation water in turn by each user; taking of barley to the fiqh or schoolmaster in the local mosque by each nuclear family within the scattered hamlet type of community, so much the Rifian norm in settlement morphology, in turn, etc. etc. (cf. Blanco's own very interesting and elucidating remarks on the Rifian conceptualization of turns in the chapter on Family Organization). And liff is a crucially important intra- or inter-tribal pattern of alliances.

181 3--All words which are rendered in quotations are Blanco's, and in
114 no case does he define what he means by them. It should be noted here that Blanco, as well as the great majority of tribal administrators in French Morocco at the time, was heavily influenced by the thinking of the late Robert Montagne, Les Berberes et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930--to such an extent, in fact, that many of the "value judgments" which Blanco makes are indirectly those of Montagne. In all fairness to Blanco, however, it should be noted that he takes sharp exception to certain of Montagne's interpretations of Rifian political sociology; and these exceptions are for the most part fully justified.

668 4--Although the famous "Berber Dahir" of 1930 was enforced, of course,
677 by the French up until the very end of their protectorate in Morocco
668 in 1956, it never even had a chance in the Spanish Zone. This state of affairs was due not to any special decision-making on the part of the Spanish Protectorate administration (for much of the corps of tribal interventores was in favor of the dahir), but to the Rifian reformer 'Abd al-Krim, who had vigorously suppressed what he considered the most objectionable features of Customary Law in the Rif as early as 1921 or 1922. This was one of the ways, indeed, in which he was able to consolidate his position as leader of the Rifian war effort and as "President of the Rifian Republic", whereas, perhaps paradoxically, it is the pre-'Abd al-Krim era of "organized acephaly", of councillors and bloodfeuds, which is known, perhaps in retrospect as the 'Ripublik', and which is referred to elsewhere in Berber Morocco, and as a permanent condition, as siba. By the term "most objectionable features" we mean to say that he effectively stamped out any and all aspects of Rifian customary law (collective or plural oaths, in particular) which could in any outwardly discernible way be construed as being opposed to "bonafide" Muslim law. Thus, in short, what happened was at the end of the Rifian War in 1926, the Spaniards found that because of 'Abd al-Krim, orthodox Maliki law (for of the four Sunni, or "Orthodox", Islamic legal schools, it is the Maliki which predominates in North Africa) was already functioning in the Rif, even it overlay a solidly Berber jural base; and, during their protectorate, though with some misgivings, they merely preserved 'Abd al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

000 47--An individual does not, sensu stricto, enter a liff on his own, [613] but is rather affiliated automatically with the liff or wider alliance to which his lineage belongs, although he may later switch his allegiance to fracture lineage unity. (This is not uncommon.)

[191] 48--The number of Rifians who are adherents to Muslim religious brotherhoods (a wide-spread phenomenon in other parts of Morocco) is not large, although it has remained fairly constant even after Moroccan independence and the wane of the fraternities' influence [113] on the Moroccan political scene. For a discussion of the role of brotherhoods in Morocco, see F. S. Vidal, "Religious Brotherhoods and Moroccan Politics", Middle East Journal, 1950. ...The most important brotherhood in the Central Rif is the Darqawa, with adepts [668] in the Aith Waryaghar, Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; it is said that Abd al-Krim himself was a member of this order originally, but that on his rise to power he suppressed all brotherhood activities in a clean sweep in order to minimize the possibility of their turning against him. Other orders include the 'Alawiyin, among some of the mountain segments of the Aith Waryaghar, and the Tijaniyin and Nasiriyin in the Igzinnayen.

562 49--Here again Blanco is in error, as habus has nothing to do with the 428 return to her father's house of a divorced woman. Habus is a religi- 114 ouse or charitable endowment, and in Morocco it usually takes the 423 form of a property donation to a religious institution, such as a mosque or a saint's tomb. The word implies, always, property which has been set aside; and although Rifians do not admit any notion of [794] "private habus" in theory, they do so in practice. In the Central Atlas, for example, a man who is afraid that his sons will sell his land may put it in a state of habus, as it were, to prevent them from doing so; and while such a notion is unthinkable to Rifians, it is equally unthinkable that a son would sell his father's patrimony! Thus the idea of habus is intimately linked with that of indivision, and, as such, it has a bearing on the position of women with respect to inheritance rules. Although women theoretically inherit both real and movable property, their share almost invariably remains, in practice, in the hands of their fathers or brothers when they marry. Rifians say that it is perfectly permissible for a married women to come back to her father's house and cultivate her property; but that this is an evasion is readily seen from the fact that in Morocco it is men and not women who cultivate property! Thus, in effect, the "men's habus", of a private rather than a religious nature, safeguards a daughter's share of the inheritance--for the sons! For a discussion [113] of this problem in the Sus and Anti-Atlas, see Andre Adam, "Les Origines Ethniques de la Population Marocaine Musulmane de Casablanca", in Anthony F. C. Wallace, Ed., Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, September 1-9, 1956, Phildelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, pp. 371-76 (our reference to p. 372). Adam refers to this problem within the context of temporary emigration of small grocery-store keepers from the Anti-Atlas to Casablanca.